

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 130074

TOKYO FOR HOLBROOKE AND GLEYSTEN

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PGOV, KS, US

SUBJECT: FOLLOWING IS THE STATEMENT DELIVERED BY LEON  
JAWORSKI AT THE HIRC HEARING ON THE ETHICS COMMITTEE  
RESOLUTION MAY 22

BEGIN TEXT

STATEMENT OF LEON JAWORSKI, SPECIAL COUNSEL, COMMITTEE  
ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

RE: H. RES. 1192

MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT I WELCOME THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSION OF HOUSE  
RESOLUTION 1192. ALTHOUGH I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THIS  
COMMITTEE AND THE WHOLE HOUSE SHOULD ACT FAVORABLY AND  
EXPEDITIOUSLY ON THE RESOLUTION, I RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS  
NO MINOR MATTER. INDEED, IT IS MEANINGFUL, SUBSTANTIVE  
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LEGISLATION; AND, AS SUCH, DESERVES THE SCRUTINY THAT ONLY  
THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS CAN BRING TO BEAR.

MOREOVER, IT IS AN HONOR TO SHARE THIS PLATFORM WITH THE  
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE. I HAVE HAD THE PLEASURE OF  
KNOWING AND WORKING WITH WARREN CHRISTOPHER FOR A NUMBER OF

YEARS. HE HAS DESERVEDLY RISEN TO THE TOP ECHELONS OF THE  
LEGAL PROFESSION AND NOW TO THE HIGH OFFICE WHICH HE HOLDS  
IN OUR GOVERNMENT. HE AND MR. HANSELL HAVE SET FORTH THE

STATE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION WELL FOR YOU.

PERHAPS I CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THESE PROCEEDINGS BY PROVIDING A BROADER VIEW -- ONE THAT STRESSES THE INTEREST OF CONGRESS AS AN INSTITUTION. FOR IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IT IS CONGRESS, AS AN INSTITUTION, THAT MUST CONFRONT AND RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE WHICH IS AT THE HEART OF THE MATTER WE ADDRESS TODAY.

MY PUBLIC STATEMENT OF MAY 10, 1978, WHICH DETAILS OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE THE TESTIMONY OF KIM DONG JO, A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, WAS TRANSMITTED TO YOUR CHIEF OF STAFF LAST FRIDAY FOR DISTRIBUTION TO EACH OF YOU. NO DOUBT MANY OF YOU HAD SEEN IT BEFORE. ACCORDINGLY, I SHALL NOT BE REPETITIVE; BUT ONE OR TWO POINTS SHOULD BE STRESSED.

HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT LAST OCTOBER ESTABLISHED CONCLUSIVELY THAT, DURING THE TENURE OF FORMER AMBASSADOR KIM DONG JO IN WASHINGTON, A PLAN TO INFLUENCE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BY PAYING THEM MONEY WAS CREATED AND IMPLEMENTED. THERE WAS SWORN TESTIMONY TO THIS EFFECT FROM PERSONS WHO HAD UNCLASSIFIED

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WORKED IN THE KOREAN EMBASSY AND WHO WITNESSED AND PARTICIPATED IN CARRYING OUT THE PLAN. THERE WAS SWORN TESTIMONY THAT LARGE SUMS OF CASH WERE RECEIVED (AND PROMPTLY RETURNED) PURSUANT TO THE PLAN. TWO MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE, MR. DE LA GARZA AND MR. WINN, WERE TENDERED SUCH FUNDS AND RETURNED THEM.

I MUST TELL YOU THAT I DO NOT KNOW WHICH INDIVIDUALS, IF ANY, WHO NOW OCCUPY PLACES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WERE TENDERED FUNDS AND, IN VIOLATION OF ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL TENETS OF THE CONSTITUTION THEY ARE SWORN TO UPHOLD, DID NOT RETURN THEM. BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT, ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE THAT WE HAVE MADE PUBLIC AS WELL AS INFORMATION THAT WE CANNOT NOW DISCLOSE, I DO KNOW THAT THE ACTIVITY WENT ON. I KNOW ALSO THAT WE SHALL NEVER LEARN THE WHOLE TRUTH UNTIL THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS COME FORWARD TO GIVE US THE INFORMATION THAT WE SEEK. THAT INFORMATION IS KNOWN TO KIM DONG JO.

LET ME DIGRESS BRIEFLY. IN JULY OF LAST YEAR, THE SPEAKER AND THE MAJORITY LEADER, ALONG WITH CHAIRMAN FLYNT, ASKED ME TO TAKE THE POSITION OF SPECIAL COUNSEL.

FRANKLY, I BALKED AT THE IDEA BECAUSE I HAD ASSUMED THAT MY SERVICE IN WASHINGTON WAS OVER. BUT THE SPEAKER PAINTED A VERY GRIM PICTURE OF EBBING ESTEEM FOR CONGRESS AS REFLECTED IN OPINION POLLS AND CONSTITUENT DEMANDS FOR

PROMPT AND DECISIVE ACTION TO REMOVE THE CLOUD OF SUSPICION HANGING OVER THIS CHAMBER BY LAYING BARE THE FACTS AND TAKING ACTION AS APPROPRIATE. I RETURNED TO WASHINGTON TO DO WHATEVER I COULD TO REMEDY THE CRISIS IN CONFIDENCE REPORTED TO ME BY THE SPEAKER.

I AM PROUD OF THE SUCCESSES THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED THUS FAR. BUT I MUST BE COMPLETELY FRANK WITH YOU AND WITH THE AMERICAN PUBLIC: THE INVESTIGATION IS NOT COMPLETE  
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AND IT WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL WE HAVE SECURED THE FORTHRIGHT TESTIMONY OF KIM DONG-JO.

SOME OF THE EARLIER EVENTS OF THE INVESTIGATION MUST BE RECALLED BECAUSE THEY ARE PERTINENT HERE. FOR A CONSIDERABLE TIME PRIOR TO MY JOINING THE INVESTIGATION, EFFORTS HAD BEEN MADE TO SECURE THE RETURN OF TONGSUN PARK TO THE UNITED STATES. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAD TWICE CALLED UPON THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA FOR COOPERATION. THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL PRESSED THOSE EFFORTS AS WELL. AT FIRST THERE WAS NO RESPONSE, AND LATER THERE CAME A FLATLY NEGATIVE ANSWER. IT WAS NOT UNTIL CONGRESS HELD ITS OCTOBER HEARINGS AND, ON OCTOBER 31, 1977, UNANIMOUSLY PASSED HOUSE RESOLUTION 868 CALLING FOR SOUTH KOREAN COOPERATION THAT RESULTS WERE ACHIEVED. BECAUSE THE WILL OF CONGRESS WAS UNEQUIVOCALLY EXPRESSED, WE WERE ABLE TO HAVE THE TESTIMONY OF TONGSUN PARK IN THE UNITED STATES FOR TESTIMONY ON AN UNRESTRICTED BASIS. THE TESTIMONY OF KIM DONG JO IS NO LESS IMPORTANT THAN THAT OF TONGSUN PARK. ONCE AGAIN WE ARE FACED WITH NEGATIVE RESPONSES FROM SOUTH KOREA. ONCE AGAIN CONGRESS MUST ACT IF WE ARE TO REACH OUR GOAL.

I HAVE GIVEN YOU MY VIEW THAT WE CANNOT COMPLETE THE INVESTIGATION WITHOUT THE TESTIMONY OF KIM DONG JO AND OF WHAT THIS MEANS TO THE INSTITUTION OF CONGRESS. THAT VIEW IS SHARED BY THE SPONSORS OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 1192 -- THE SPEAKER, THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY LEADERS, AND EVERY MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT. IT IS UP TO YOU, AS THE COMMITTEE OF JURISDICTION, AND, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, TO ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE TO DECIDE FOR YOURSELVES HOW IMPOR-  
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TANT THESE MATTERS ARE TO YOUR INSTITUTION.

NOW LET ME TURN TO SOME OF THE POINTS THAT ARE NO DOUBT OF

CONCERN TO THIS COMMITTEE. PERHAPS IT IS RELEVANT FOR YOU TO KNOW THAT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW ARE NOT OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF MY PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE. DURING WORLD WAR II, I SERVED AS CHIEF OF THE WAR CRIMES TRIALS SECTION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN THE EUROPEAN THEATRE, AND WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE FIRST WAR CRIMES TRIALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE UNDER THE GENEVA CONVENTION. FROM 1965 THROUGH 1969, I SERVED AS A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION AT THE HAGUE. IN 1967, PRESIDENT JOHNSON APPOINTED ME TO THE POSITION OF ARBITRATION MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR SETTLEMENT OF INVESTMENT DISPUTES. I CAN TELL YOU THAT MY THIRTY-ODD YEARS OF EXPERIENCE HAVE TAUGHT ME THAT, IN INTERNATIONAL LAW, ONE HAD BEST PAY HEED TO THE GENERAL ADMONITION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN THAT THE DOGMAS OF THE TRANQUIL PAST ARE OFTEN INADEQUATE TO THE STORMY PRESENT.

BUT EVEN GIVEN THE ENIGMATIC QUALITY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, I AM AT A LOSS TO DISCOVER A VIOLATION OF CONVENTIONS OR OTHER PRECEPTS IN THE ACTIONS WE HAVE TAKEN OR IN FAVORABLE CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 119,. NOR DO I SEE ANY POSSIBILITY OF A PRECEDENT TO BE CREATED THAT WOULD INURE TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

MUCH HAS BEEN MADE OF THE VIENNA CONVENTION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WHICH I MUST RESPECTFULLY TELL YOU IS A RED-HERRING ISSUE. WE HAVE NEVER HAD THE REMOTEST THOUGHT OF SERVING A SUBPOENA ON KIM DONG JO; AND THAT FACT, IN A WORD, ENDS THE VIENNA CONVENTION ISSUE. THE PRINCIPLE UPON WHICH WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DEAL WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA -- ONE FAR MORE DEEPLY EMBEDDED IN INTERNATIONAL UNCLASSIFIED

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LAW THAN ANY MODERN CONVENTION -- IS THAT OF COMITY AMONG NATIONS: THAT IS, THE RESPECT AND COURTESY EXTENDED BY ONE ALLY TO ANOTHER.

MR. JUSTICE STORY, IN HIS COMMENTARIES ON THE CONFLICTS OF LAWS, WRITTEN IN 1827, DEFINED COMITY OF NATIONS AS A MATTER OF QUOTE PARAMOUNT MORAL DUTY.UNQUOTE AND MR. JUSTICE TANEY, IN AN 1839 DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT, SPOKE OF COMITY IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS: QUOTE THE COMITY THUS EXTENDED TO OTHEF NATIONS IS NO IMPEACHMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY. IT IS THE VOLUNTARY ACT OF THE NATION BY WHICH IT IS OFFERED.... UNQUOTE

WHAT WE HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT ALL ALONG IS VOLUNTARY COOPERATION BY ONE NATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF ITS ALLY. THE PRINCIPLE THAT HAS GUIDED US IS THAT OF COMITY, WHICH

INDEED IS THE REAL PRINCIPLE UPON WHICH ALL MUTUALLY

BENEFICIAL RELATIONS AMONG FRIENDLY NATIONS IS BASED. DO WE, FOR EXAMPLE, EXTEND MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA BECAUSE WE ARE COMPELLED TO DO SO BY INTERNATIONAL LAW? OF COURSE NOT. OUR DOING SO HAS BEEN PURELY VOLUNTARY BECAUSE OF THE DESIRE OF OUR NATION TO SUPPORT OUR ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH KOREA. HAS OUR EXTENSION OF LARGESSE TO OUR ALLY VIOLATED INTERNATIONAL LAW OR INFRINGED UPON OUR SOVEREIGNTY? OBVIOUSLY NOT. NOR WOULD THE VOLUNTARY EXTENSION OF THE COOPERATION WE NOW SEEK BREACH INTERNATIONAL LAW OR THE SOVEREIGN INTEGRITY OF OUR ALLY, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT ITSELF RECOGNIZES THIS. OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREAN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED THROUGH THE AUSPICES OF THE DEPARTMENT. INDEED, THE  
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DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN MOST HELPFUL IN CONVEYING TO SOUTH KOREA THE ESTABLISHED FACT OF CONGRESSIONAL WILL TO HAVE THE TESTIMONY WE SEEK. I HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE SOUTH KOREANS WERE URGED BY OUR DIPLOMATIC OFFICIALS TO ACCEPT MY FINAL OFFER BECAUSE OF ITS REASONABLENESS AND BECAUSE OF THE VIRTUAL CERTAINTY OF LEGISLATIVE REACTION TO ITS BEING REJECTED.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT DESERVES CREDIT FOR HAVING WORKED HARD TO ASSIST US IN SECURING THE TESTIMONY OF KIM DONG JO. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT CAN HARDLY ARGUE THAT OUR EFFORTS ARE INCONSISTENT WITH INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES.

BUT I RECOGNIZE THAT THE DEPARTMENT MUST PAY SPECIAL HEED TO THE VIENNA CONVENTION, AND THAT THE REAL OBJECTION HERE IS TO THE USE OF SO-CALLED QUOTE PRESSURE UNQUOTE TO SECURE A WAIVER OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY. THIS, IT IS ARGUED, WOULD CREATE A BAD PRECEDENT. AGAIN, I UNDERSTAND WHY THE DEPARTMENT FEELS THAT IT MUST RAISE THIS PROBLEM BEFORE YOU. BUT I RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT THAT PREDICTIONS OF A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT ARE EXAGGERATED AND, INDEED, UNFOUNDED.

THE REAL CONCERN IS THAT, IF CONGRESS REACTS TO A REJECTION OF ITS PLEA FOR VOLUNTARY COOPERATION, OTHER NATIONS MIGHT TRY TO EMBARRASS THE UNITED STATES BY CALLING ON US FOR SENSITIVE INFORMATION. WOULD A PRECEDENT FOR THAT KIND OF INTERNATIONAL HARASSMENT BE CREATED BY THE PASSAGE OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 1192? IT WOULD NOT BECAUSE OF THE EXTREMELY UNIQUE CHARACTER OF OUR INVESTIGATION AND BECAUSE OF THE CONCESSIONS WE HAVE OFFERED THE SOUTH KOREANS TO PROTECT THEIR SOVEREIGN INTEGRITY.

FIRST AND FOREMOST, OUR IS NOT AN INVESTIGATION OF SOUTH

KOREA; IT IS AN INVESTIGATION OF OFFICIAL CORRUPTION IN  
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THE UNITED STATES. THE INFORMATION WE SEEK FROM SOUTH KOREA, AND KIM DONG JO IN PARTICULAR, RELATES EXCLUSIVELY TO THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR ELECTED OFFICIALS. TO THAT END, I EXPRESSLY PROMISED THE SOUTH KOREAN REPRESENTATIVES THAT I WOULD QUESTION KIM DONG JO ONLY ABOUT HIS ACTIVITIES RELATING TO MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE, AND THAT I WOULD ASK NOTHING ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OR INTENTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

SECOND, TO PRESERVE EVERY APPEARANCE OF SOVEREIGN INTEGRITY, I AGREED TO QUESTION FORMER AMBASSADOR KIM IN A NEUTRAL COUNTRY SO THAT HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT COULD BE SPARED ANY POTENTIAL EMBARRASSMENT OF CRITICISM STEMMING FROM AN APPEARANCE HERE.

THIRD, AND TO THE SAME END, I AGREED THAT THE QUESTIONING COULD TAKE PLACE IN SEPARATE ROOMS, OR EVEN SEPARATE BUILDINGS, SO THAT A FACE-TO-FACE CONFRONTATION COULD BE AVOIDED FOR THE SAKE OF APPEARANCES.

FOURTH, I AGREED TO A CESSATION OF ANY FURTHER REQUESTS FOR SOUTH KOREAN COOPERATION IF KIM DONG JO WERE TO TESTIFY UNDER OATH, SO THAT THE KOREANS COULD BE ASSURED THAT THEY COULD END THIS MATTER IN ONE FINAL STEP.

GIVEN THESE CONCESSIONS, WHICH WERE OFFERED IN DEFERENCE TO FORMER AMBASSADOR KIM'S DIPLOMATIC POSITION, HOW CAN IT POSSIBLY BE ARGUED THAT CONGRESS' REFUSAL TO TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER IS UNREASONABLE?

WE MUST CONSTANTLY BLARE IN MIND, WHEN ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF ADVERSE PRECEDENT, THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS MATTER ARE EXTRAORDINARY. THERE IS NO EFFORT  
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TO EMBARRASS SOUTH KOREA OR TO DO ANY OTHER ACT THAT SMACKS OF ILLEGITIMACY. INSTEAD, WE ARE ENGAGED IN A LEGITIMATE, NON-PARTISAN, LEGAL EXERCISE UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION TO FIND THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT OFFICIALS OF OUR GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE DONE. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY FOR US TO ACCOMPLISH THIS TASK THAN TO SEEK INFORMATION FROM THOSE WHO KNOW IT. UNDER THESE UNIQUE AND EXTREMELY NARROW CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PRECEDENT IS A GOOD ONE. TO CONJURE UP FEARS OF SWEEPING AND ADVERSE INCURSIONS UPON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF NATIONS IS TO OVERREACT SUBSTANTIALLY.

PERMIT ME TO REVIEW WITH YOU ANOTHER INCIDENT IN OUR

COUNTRY'S RECENT HISTORY THAT BEARS DIRECTLY ON THIS POINT. WHEN THE DECISION OF THE WATERGATE SPECIAL

PROSECUTOR TO SEEK TAPE RECORDINGS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS ANNOUNCED, CRIES OF QUOTE TERRIBLE PRECEDENT UNQUOTE RANG OUT LOUD STRONG FROM THE WHITE HOUSE AND OTHER QUARTERS. THE SUPREME COURT HEARD THOSE CRIES AND UNANIMOUSLY REJECTED THEM. ITS DECISION TEACHES US THAT, WHERE THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE COMPELLING, WE CANNOT TURN OUR BACKS TO THE PROBLEM BECAUSE IT IS UNPRECEDENTED. THE INVOCATION OF QUOTE VIENNA CONVENTION UNQUOTE NOW REMINDS ME VERY MUCH OF QUOTE EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE UNQUOTE FOUR YEARS AGO. WATERGATE INVOLVED EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES AND COMPELLING FACTS; TODAY WE FACE CIRCUMSTANCES AND FACTS THAT ARE NO LESS EXTRA-ORDINARY AND NO LESS COMPELLING.

FINALLY, ON THIS ISSUE, LET US LOOK AT THE PRECEDENT THAT WOULD BE CREATED IF CONGRESS DOES NOT DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO GET THE TESTIMONY OF KING DONG JO. THERE WILL BE ONE PRECEDENT CREATED FOR THE PUBLIC AND ANOTHER CREATED FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

IT IS MY OPINION THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION WILL UNCLASSIFIED

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NOT ACCEPT LEGAL NICETIES AS AN EXPLANATION FOR THE FAILURE OF CONGRESS TO COMPLETE ITS INVESTIGATION OF CORRUPTION IN ITS OWN CHAMBERS. THEY WILL NOT UNDERSTAND WHY CORRUPT OFFICIALS WHO DEAL WITH DIPLOMATS MAY ESCAPE EXPOSURE AND SANCTION WHILE OTHERS MUST FACE PROSECUTION. THEY WILL NOT COMPREHEND WHY A FOREIGN DIPLOMAT WHO SAW FIT TO OVERLOOK HIS IMMUNITY SO THAT HE COULD GIVE A SELF-SERVING STATEMENT OF HIS INNOCENCE TO NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE CAN NOW CHOOSE TO ASSERT IMMUNITY WHEN CONGRESS IS SEEKING TO LEARN THE TRUTH.

I BELIEVE THAT THE PUBLIC WILL BE CONVINCED THAT ITS GOVERNMENT DEPLOYED LEGAL ISSUES AS AN EXCUSE TO NEGLECT ITS DUTY TO SECURE THE TRUTH; AND HAVING GONE THROUGH A SIMILAR EXERCISE WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO, THE PRECEDENT FOR THE PUBLIC WILL BE ONE OF FURTHER DISILLUSIONMENT.

THE PRECEDENT FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS WILL BE SIMILARLY UNFORTUNATE. THE LESSON OF OUR INVESTIGATION TO THOSE FEW ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO ARE WILLING TO COMPROMISE THEIR OFFICES FOR PRIVATE GAIN -- AND THERE WILL ALWAYS BE SUCH PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT -- IS THAT CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE WILL NOT PURSUE CORRUPTION WHERE FOREIGN DIPLOMATS ARE INVOLVED. THE PRECEDENT, THEN, WILL BE TO EVISCERATE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY PROHIBITIONS

AGAINST THE RECEIPT OF MONEY OR THINGS OF VALUE FROM  
FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

IN SUMMARY, I FEAR THE ADVERSE PRECEDENT FROM AN UNFAVOR-  
ABLE VOTE ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 1192 FAR MORE THAN ANY  
IMAGINABLE ADVERSE PRECEDENT STEMMING FROM FAVORABLE  
CONSIDERATION.

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LET ME SPEAK BRIEFLY TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT  
POSSIBLE IMPAIRMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA.  
THE AMOUNT INVOLVED, PURSUANT TO THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET,  
IS 59.3 MILLION DOLLARS. I NEED ONLY POINT OUT THAT THIS  
COUNTRY IS NOW EMBARKING UPON A MILITARY CREDIT SALES  
PROGRAM WITH SOUTH KOREA WHOSE ULTIMATE VALUE IS ESTIMATED  
TO BE 275 MILLION DOLLARS, AND AN EQUIPMENT TRANSFER  
PROGRAM WORTH SOME THREE BILLION DOLLARS. THE RESOLUTION  
WOULD NOT AFFECT THESE PROGRAMS. RATHER IT WOULD EXPRESS  
THE SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT THE EXTENSION OF ECONOMIC AID  
TO A NATION WHOSE ECONOMY IS BOOMING IS APPROPRIATE WHERE  
THAT NATION HAS CHOSEN TO WITHHOLD FROM US INFORMATION  
OF DIRECT RELEVANCE TO ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT INVESTI-  
GATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF CONGRESS. I DO NOT BELIEVE  
THAT THIS ACTION IS UNFAIR OR THAT IT WILL IMPAIR  
THE FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTH OF OUR ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH  
KOREA.

LOOKING AGAIN AT THE CONVERSE OF THE PREPOSITION, I  
SUGGEST THAT THE FAILURE OF SOUTH KOREA TO COOPERATE  
WITH US POSES THE GREATEST THREAT TO AN IMPAIRMENT OF OUR  
ALLIANCE. IF THERE IS NO COOPERATION, SOUTH KOREA CAN  
ONLY SUFFER IN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR PEOPLE. THE  
WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL CORRUPTION WILL NOT COME  
OUT, SUSPICIONS WILL BE AROUSED CONCERNING THOSE WHO ARE  
INNOCENT, AND THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE SCOPE OF THE  
SCANDAL WILL PROBABLY BE FAR GREATER THAN THE FACTS  
WOULD ACTUALLY REVEAL. BECAUSE CONGRESS IS INEVITABLY  
INFLUENCED, AS IT SHOULD BE, BY THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE  
AND BECAUSE IT HAS SPARED LITTLE TO ACCOMMODATE THE NEEDS  
OF SOUTH KOREA IN THE PAST, THIS REBUFF WILL SURELY  
INSTILL ADVERSE FEELINGS IN CONGRESS THAT WILL NOT VANISH  
QUICKLY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, AMERICANS CAN BE EXPECTED TO ADMIRE  
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THE CANDOR OF THOSE WHO COME FORWARD TO ASSIST IN CLEAN-  
ING UP CORRUPTION. IF THE INVESTIGATION IS COMPLETED  
WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SOUTH KOREA, I BELIEVE THAT OUR  
RELATIONSHIP WILL BE BACK TO NORMAL IN SHORT ORDER. I



HAVE STATED MANY TIMES OVER MANY MONTHS THAT IT IS IN  
THE BEST INTEREST OF SOUTH KOREA TO COOPERATE WITH US.

LET ME CLOSE BY REITERATING THAT I AM PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN  
CALLED ON TO ADDRESS THE COMMITTEE WITH RESPECT TO HOUSE

RESOLUTION 1192. BUT I EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS NOT MY  
RESOLUTION; RATHER, IT IS YOURS. IT EXPRESSES WHAT  
I BELIEVE TO BE THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE THAT A COMPLETE  
INVESTIGATION CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT KOREAN COOPERATION,  
THAT AN INCOMPLETE INVESTIGATION IS UNACCEPTABLE, AND THAT  
COOPERATION BETWEEN ALLIES IS A TWO-WAY STREET. AS  
MY STATEMENT OF MAY 10 INDICATES, I HAVE DONE ALL THAT I  
CAN DO TO SECURE THE COOPERATION THAT WE NEED TO FINISH  
THE JOB ASSIGNED TO US. CONGRESS ITSELF MUST NOW TAKE  
FIRM AND UNEQUIVOCAL ACTION TO PAVE THE WAY TO A COMPLETE  
INVESTIGATION. END TEXT

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